1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

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714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

[226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati keno* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

[824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●411 of ironwood: *matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,* lance: *maaeki,* lance of pandanus wood; *kohaa,* weapon of pandanus wood; *kaaeki,* wooden lance

[531]

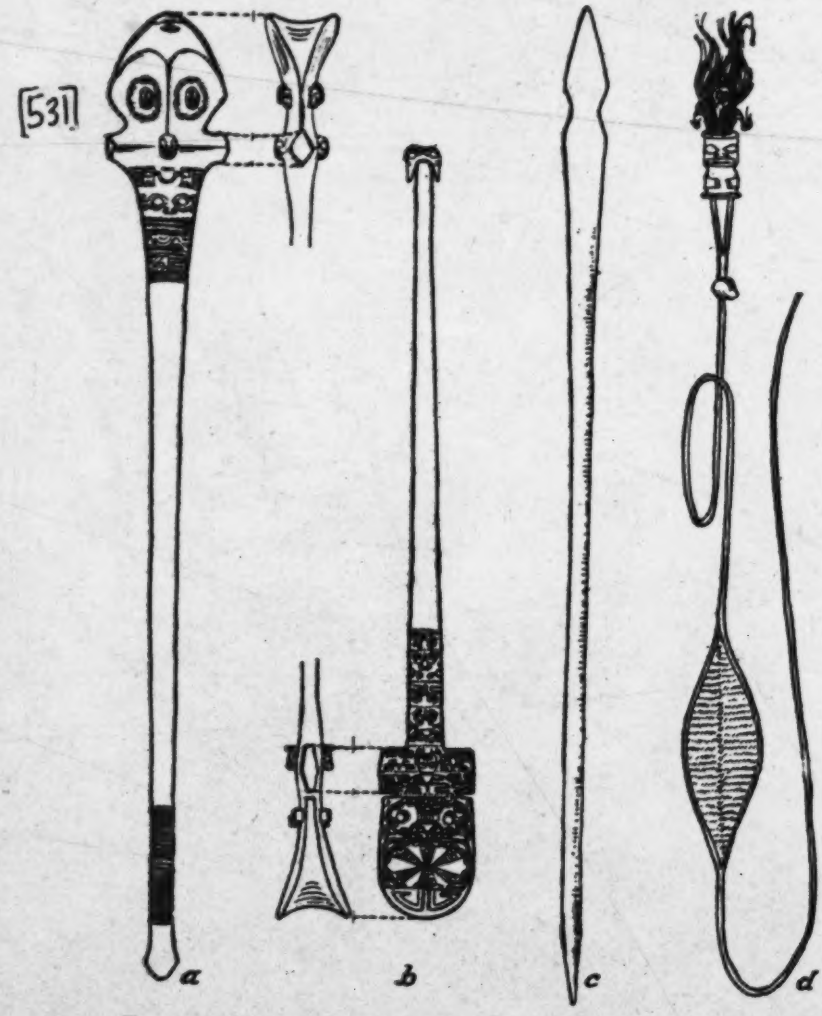

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

of *eki* bush; *epu,* kind of lance. The *miomiota* or *miopatu* was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones (*ke'a pehi hua*) were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association with womankind.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh.

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe.

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

> In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

524 Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise.

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war.

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 No satisfactory information in regard to the form of the ancient slings was obtained from the natives, but specimens preserved in the Peabody Museums at Cambridge and at Salem, prove that two forms were in use. (See Pl. LXX, *A*.)

The simpler of these, represented by a single specimen, consisted of a broad flat plait of coconut fiber, between five and six feet long, without a pocket. The cord tapered at either end, one extremity being finished with a loop for the fingers and the other with a simple knot. In another form the two cords were slender and there was a pocket of coconut fiber about five inches long with a central width of about two inches tapering toward either end. The end of the sling that was retained in throwing was also made from coconut fiber, while the release cord might be made either of coconut fiber or of twisted fau bark. A short distance from the end of the retained cord a loop two to three inches long was formed by dividing the braid into two strands which were again interwoven beyond it.

In a specimen in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (20, p. 46, No. 2) the end of the retained cord was finished with a small tiki figure of human bone from which hung a hair tassel. As may be seen from the photograph the pockets were often elaborately and beautifully woven. Some specimens of the second type are over five feet in length when ready for action, giving the thrower great range but little accuracy.

A warrior going into battle carried his sling wrapped around his hand and Langsdorff (38, pp. 150-160) says that natives from other valleys, when attending feasts, "commonly have with them a sling for stones, but it is bound around the head so as to have rather the appearance of an ornament than a weapon of defence."

Most early visitors agree that the Marquesan slingers were poor marksmen, but Porter, who fought against them, says (49, p. 87)—"The stones are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy as to render them almost equal to musketry." Evidence of the force of slung stones is offered by a missile of this sort in the valley of Omoa, Fatu Hiva. The stone has been driven into a crack between two rocks so solidly that the repeated efforts of curio hunters have failed to dislodge it.

SPEARS AND LANCES

Several types of spears and lances were employed by the Marquesans, but very few examples have been preserved. There are no authentic specimens in the museums of the Atlantic Coast. The only spear remaining in the group, as far as known, is a short javelin preserved as an heirloom in the family of the chief of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa. This spear is approximately five feet long with an average shaft diameter of three-quarters of an inch. The lower end tapers to a blunt point, while the upper end is flattened and expanded laterally to form a sharp edged blade whose form may be seen from the accompanying illustration drawn by Mrs. E. S. Handy (fig. 10). An entirely different type of throwing spear is mentioned by Porter (49, pp. 86-87) who says: "The other kind [of spears] are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract."

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long. Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant,

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.)

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 531 type are elaborately carved according to a set convention, the decoration of the numerous specimens examined varying only in minor details (Pl. LXIX, *A*).

Each side of the club is treated as a separate unit, but the arrangement and position of the various decorative elements on the two sides, and to a lesser degree the designs employed, correspond. The carvings upon a single side are arranged as follows:

At the lower end of the expanded portion, next the handle, there is a broad transverse band composed of decorative designs. Above this is placed a tiki face, minus the mouth, whose ears rest against either edge of the club. Above this face in turn, filling the space between it and the bottom of the knobs, is a narrow band of carving broken in the center. The inner ends of the sections are connected by narrow curved bands, or the space between them is filled with one or two small detached designs. Above this band, on the line of the lateral knobs, a small tiki face in high relief is carved centrally. The section above the lateral knobs is divided into two equal parts by a low longitudinal keel and upon each of the halves thus formed is carved a large circle or oval having in the center a head in high relief from which lines run radially to its circumference. Above these circles, on the extreme end of the club, a flat tiki face is carved centrally. The curve of the thick outer end of the club extends upon either side to within about two inches of the lateral knobs and in a few specimens small faces, directed laterally, are carved at its lower extremities.

Practically all old *uu* have a glossy black finish given by burying the finished implement for some time in the mud of a taro patch and then rubbing and polishing with scented coconut oil (*pani*).

411 The *uu* have always been much sought after by collectors and this demand has resulted in their continued manufacture although the best modern examples are only caricatures of the ancient specimens. The carefully worked out contours of the old clubs have given place to flat surfaces and angles, and the simple and rigidly conventionalized decoration to elaborate and meaningless carvings. The finish of the modern specimens is usually rough, and the wood is always left the natural color, making them easily distinguishable. (Pl. LXIX, *B*.)

The second type of Marquesan club, called *paahua* (Dordillon, 17) is also well represented in collections. It has a handle identical with that of the *uu* but the elaborately worked out head is replaced by a sharp edged blade closely similar in form to that of a modern American canoe paddle (Pl. LXIX, *E*). Weapons of this type appear never to have been carved or blackened, and are as a whole longer than the *uu*. Some of these paddle-clubs are remarkable for their size and weight, one specimen in the Bishop Museum being 7 feet, 9¼ inches long with a blade length of 2 feet, 10½ inches and a maximum blade width of 7 inches.

In many *uu* and *paahua* there is a small hole pierced through the expanded lower end of the handle, probably for the attachment of a wrist loop, and in some specimens the grip is wrapped for a distance of 5 to 8 inches with fine plaited

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord, to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals. 411

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouvai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouvai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one. 411 293

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompon of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown. 411

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says: 727

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and passes under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 171 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

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The Hawaiian and Micronesian slings are much cruder in construction than the Marquesan slings, and have little in common with them. The Marquesan and Society slings, on the other hand, are practically identical, corresponding not only in form, but even in such minor details as the occasional use of fau bark for the release cord. It is rather curious that such close correspondence should be coupled with the use of prepared stones in the Marquesas and their absence in the Society Islands.

The information on Marquesan spears is too incomplete to justify extensive comparison, but it is suggestive that the practise of cutting or piercing the shafts of javelines so that the head would break off in the wound appears to have been limited to the Marquesas and New Zealand. The thrusting spear with long easily broken barbs appears to have no Polynesian parallel, but is rather suggestive of certain north Australian forms.

A comparison of Polynesian club forms is especially interesting. The Hawaiians seem to have made only secondary use of the club, and the Hawaiian examples for the most part are short bludgeon-like weapons of rather inferior workmanship. There are some indications that a longer bat-like type was also in use, but it seems to have been numerically unimportant. The Marquesans seem to have entirely lacked short clubs, both their types, the *uu* and paddle club, being heavy and of unwieldy length. The natives of the Society Islands used clubs of two types, one a short bludgeon, the other a long club with a sharp edged lozenge shaped head. Examples of the long club examined strongly resemble the spears of the Cook Islands which in turn, appear to be copies of metal prototypes. The Maoris used several types of club which seem to fall into two classes, long staves and short, sharp edged weapons, such as the mere. The Maori weapons are well known. In Samoa and Tonga we find a great variety of clubs, most of which are of types also found in Fiji. These weapons have been fully described by Churchill (69). As a whole they show little resemblance to the forms found in marginal Polynesia. Even the nuclear Polynesian paddle clubs bear much less resemblance to those of the Marquesas than the Marquesan ones show to some Melanesian weapons, notably those from the Solomon Islands.

No clubs at all resembling the Marquesan *uu* appear in other parts of Oceania, and it seems certain that it is a local development. If we ignore its decoration we find that the *uu* differs from the paddle club only in the thickening of the end and the lateral knobs. The handles of the two types are identical, and in both the head has a rounded outline, flat oval cross section, and sharp edges. It is evident that the *uu* as a whole represents a highly conventionalized face to which the knobs bear the relation of ears. As projecting ears are a common fea-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 171 532 ture of Marquesan figures it is quite possible that the knobs might be added to a paddle form on which a face had been carved with the idea of rendering the human likeness more complete. The thickening of the end is more difficult to account for, but this also may have arisen from the native artistic convention which calls for wide curves over the eyes. It is but a slight step from the paddle club to the *uu*. Evidence of the priority of the paddle club is offered by the use of small replicas as chiefs' insignia.

411 The distribution of narrow-bladed staves is especially interesting. In Polynesia their use appears to have been limited to two localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand, with a related form in Easter Island. The Marquesan staves are as a rule longer than those from New Zealand, but the blade form is practically identical, the differences between the two types lying in the treatment of the upper end, or head, which in New Zealand was usually carved into a head with a projecting, pointed tongue, and in the Marquesas was finished with a pompom of human hair. In both, the shaft immediately below the head was covered with a woven sleeve. The Easter Island implements are clearly related to these staves, but differ from them in having a broader blade, no sleeve, and an upper end carved into two heads placed back to back. The Marquesan staves grade into the paddle clubs, although they always retain the characteristic decoration of the head. As paddle clubs appear to be lacking in both New Zealand and Easter Island it seems improbable that the stave was developed from this weapon. Certain Melanesian digging sticks now in the Field Museum are identical in blade form with the Maori and Marquesan staves, and there are even a few examples in which the upper ends are carved and decorated. A. B. Lewis of the Field Museum says that he has frequently seen digging sticks employed as staves by the older men in Melanesia, and it would appear not improbable that the staves of the Maori and Marquesans have been derived from some such tool. The fact that the Maori stave was an important weapon does not militate against this assumption, as even among the Maori digging sticks were sometimes used as weapons while many of the Melanesian examples are known to have been used interchangeably as tools and clubs. The Fijian chiefs' staves lack the flattened blade, just as do many of the Fijian digging sticks.

It is rather curious that large weapons edged with sharks' teeth appear to have been entirely lacking in the Marquesas, although at least two forms were in use in the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 297, p. 413).

Weapons resembling the Marquesan double pointed spike (*ake henua*), were rather common in Hawaii, while a related form was important in the Society Islands. Their use in Samoa and Tonga seems doubtful, although the data from those islands is still too incomplete to allow of a definite statement.

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Containers

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Boxes	Oval, often bird form, tight cover	Oval, tight cover	Round, tight cover	Present, form unknown	Round, tight cover	No data
Bowls with legs	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Oval form common	Common	Common

Weapons

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Clubs	Paddle club and ax, no bludgeon or throwing club	Characteristic local forms	Short bludgeon, stone headed club (rare); throwing club	Bludgeon, modified paddle club, sickle club, no throwing club	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important
Shark tooth weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Many pronged weapon and sickle	Not used	Not used
Bow	Toy and for fishing	Used traditionally as weapon	Toy and for rat hunting	Used in chief's game	Toy and fishing	Important weapon
Sling	Important	Occasionally used as weapon, also toy	Important	Important	Common	Little used
Sling stone	Double conical	Not shaped	Double conical	Not shaped	No data	No data
Throwing cord	In games only	Stick with cord	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Spear with head cut to break off in wound	Present	Several types	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Chiefs' staff	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top decorated with hair	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top carved	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Armor	Not used	Several thicknesses of mats	Thick mats and wicker helmets	Breast plates of heavy fiber, helmets	One-piece suit like Gilbert Islands, very rare	Not used

7: Linton E-S (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OV+

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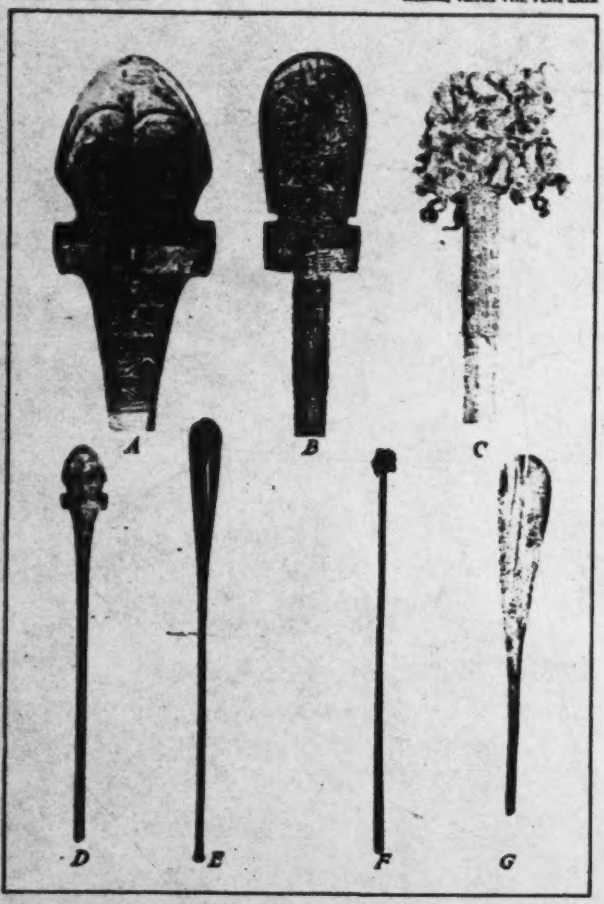

CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF CLUB UU; *B*, HEAD OF MODERN UU; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, UU, FRONT VIEW; *E*, PARAHU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (KUCUAI).

[end plate 30]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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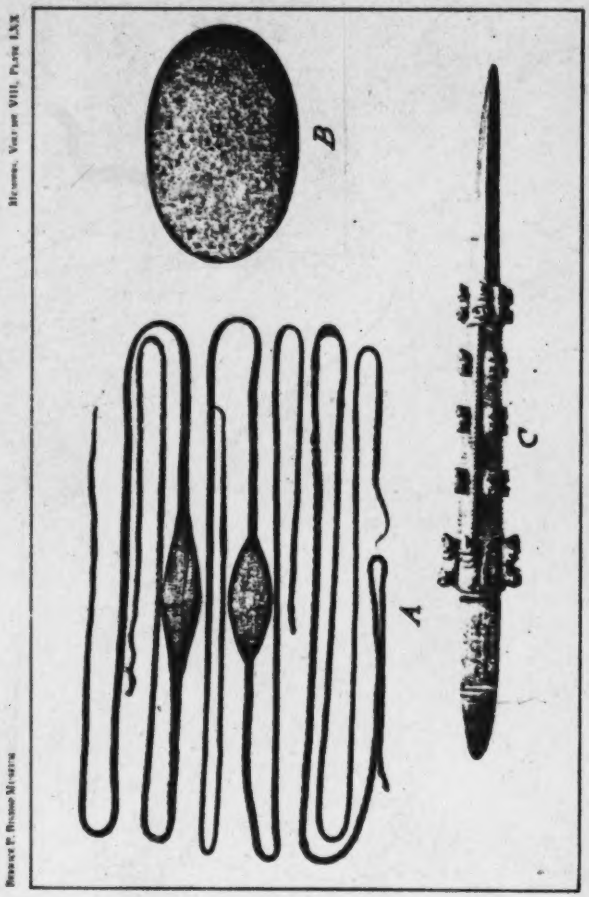

[end plate 31]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

represented by two sets of curved toothed grooves set end to end. The whole lower half of the figure is plain and was probably intended to represent the mouth. 531X

The noses on the tiki faces are of the conventional tiki type, but some of them are much longer than others. One war club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) shows the nostrils detached from the rest of the features although in proper position. This same club shows a nose on the second tiki face which consists of concentric semi-ovals closed at the bottom, a form more characteristic of a *mata*. The ears are present in some of the tikis and absent in others. When present they are invariably represented by double curvilinear spirals.

The lower of the three divisions, which united represent the mouth of the large tiki, is filled with a lot of small detail carving consisting of short vertical and longer horizontal parallel lines, simple angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*), zigzags, interlocking triangles with rounded apexes filled with curves roughly parallel to the sides of the triangles and having innumerable transverse lines, plam leaf motifs, concentric circles with and without a groove in the center, concentric ovals and half ovals pierced by a straight groove, quarter sections of concentric ovals, concentric squares pierced on one side, single and double broad hooks, and angular and curvilinear spirals. In several clubs a more or less symmetrical effect is achieved in this band by the presence of two long, narrow grooves in horizontal position and centrally located, each ending in a pierced oval at the outer edge of the club and frequently having a larger pierced oval directly above and below the long grooves, the remaining space being variously filled.

Designs on Modern War Clubs

The war clubs made in recent times for trade and for the tourists are inferior to the older specimens in quality of carving and in simplicity and effectiveness of decoration. Even the shape of the clubs has degenerated. Every square inch of available space on the sides of the heads of the modern war clubs is carved, and the tiki, which is the central concept in the decoration of the ancient clubs, is poorly delineated. A greatly elongated forehead has become the center of decoration and the eyes have been shoved down and brought closer together. In place of small tiki heads carved in the half round, the modern clubs show oblong-shaped projecting knobs with tiki faces carved in low relief on the front surface, or round, undecorated knobs. A similar knob represents the nose, and the ears—undecorated in the older specimens—are elaborately carved in angular geometric designs. As representation of a mouth, the wide carved [439 411]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 266 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous [411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] [302] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 266 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original